

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SIG-01 MMO-01 AID-05 HA-05 EB-08 TRSE-00

A-01 OMB-01 CU-04 ABF-01 PER-01 ACDA-12 IO-13

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R 061453Z JAN 78

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6804

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0084

THIS IS A COUNTRY TEAM MESSAGE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: AMGT ET

SUBJ: US GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN ETHIOPIA

REF: A. 77 STATE 295569, B. 77 STATE 291277

1. BECAUSE THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES STATEMENT AS PRESENTED IN REF (A) WAS REVIEWED AT HIGHEST LEVELS, THE EMBASSY HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO SUGGEST DRASTIC CHANGES. IN OUR OPINION, HOWEVER, THE DOCUMENT SEEMS MORE TO BE A LIST OF BASIC COURSES OF ACTION TO BE FOLLOWED -- AND MAINLY BY THE MISSION -- RATHER THAN OVERALL GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE US GOVERNMENT. IN ADDITION, WE BELIEVE IT REFLECTS THE SPIRIT WHICH PREVAILED LATE LAST SUMMER WHEN US/ETHIOPIAN RELATIONS SEEMED TO BE ON THE UPSWING AND BEFORE THE SOVIET AND CUBAN MILITARY INFLUENCE BECAME SUCH AN OVERWHELMING FACTOR IN ETHIOPIAN DECISION-MAKING. WE HAVE, THEREFORE, TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF THE REF (B) INVITATION TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGES IN THE TEXT, ALTHOUGH THE GENERAL APPROACH IS QUITE SIMILAR.

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2. WHERE THE EMBASSY RETAINS DOUBTS ABOUT OUR REASONABLE ABILITY TO OBTAIN THE GOALS OR OBJECTIVES, COMMENTS HAVE BEEN INCLUDED IN PARENTHESES. COMMENTS ON COURSES OF ACTION HAVE BEEN SIMILARLY INCLUDED AT THIS PRELIMINARY STAGE WHERE THEIR POSSIBLE INFEASIBILITY PUTS INCLUSION OF THE OBJECTIVE IN DOUBT.

2. MESSAGE SUBJECT TO REVISION FOLLOWING CHARGE'S RETURN
FROM NAIROBI CONSULTATION JAN 16.

I. GENERAL MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT IN US/ETHIOPIAN
BILATERAL RELATIONS

-- ENHANCEMENT OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE AT HIGH LEVELS
WITH EMPHASIS ON REDUCTION OF EPMG SUSPICIONS OF
US MOTIVES AND ON BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE
SEVERAL CONVERGENT AND COMPATIBLE INTERESTS. (IT
SHOULD BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE BULK OF THE
MISSION'S CURRENT DISCUSSIONS WITH EPMG OFFICIALS
AT ALL LEVELS, NOT EVEN EXCLUDING AID ACTIVITIES,
TENDS TO FOCUS ON THE MORE NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF
THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. UNLESS THIS SITUATION
CHANGES IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, PROBABLY THE
MOST WE CAN HOPE FOR IN THIS REGARD IS A STABILI-
ZATION OF POLITICAL DIALOGUE AT MORE OR LESS EXIST-
ING LEVELS.)

-- BETTER AND MORE DIRECT COMMUNICATIONS WITH ETHIO-
PIAN LEADERSHIP. (THE NOMINATION OF A US AMBASSA-
DOR TO ETHIOPIA WHO COULD DEVELOP PERSONAL RAPPORT
WITH AND ELICIT RESPECT FROM THAT LEADERSHIP COULD
HELP.)

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-- POSITIVE ETHIOPIAN RECOGNITION OF US RESPECT FOR
ETHIOPIAN SOVEREIGNTY WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF OAU PRIN-
CIPLES AND SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRATICALLY ACHIEVED
SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN ETHIOPIA AND ELSE-
WHERE.

-- PROMPT RETURN OF US GOVERNMENT-OWNED PROPERTY IN
ASMARA.

-- RESOLUTION OF OUTSTANDING DEBTS BETWEEN ETHIOPIA
AND THE US, RESULTING FROM THE TERMINATION OF THE
BILATERAL MILITARY ASSISTANCE AGREEMENT, AND OTHER
MUTUAL RESIDUAL OBLIGATIONS.

-- ASSOCIATION OF US WITH POSITIVE ECONOMIC AND SO-
CIAL ASPECTS OF THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION THROUGH
AID PROJECTS; SUPPORT OF OTHER DONOR PROJECTS AND
ENCOURAGEMENT OF AID COORDINATION. (EMBASSY BE-
LIEVES, HOWEVER, THAT IF WE ESTABLISH THIS AS ONE
OF OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVES FOR ETHIOPIA WE SHOULD
ALSO ESTABLISH CLEARER GUIDELINES FOR RECONCILING
THIS OBJECTIVE WITH OTHERS LISTED BELOW CONCERN-

ING HUMAN RIGHTS, COMPENSATION, ETC. WE SHOULD ALSO MAKE SURE THAT WE CAN LIVE WITH THE TACTICS DEVELOPED BY THE EPMG TO PURSUE THOSE POSITIVE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS, FOR WHICH THE POLITICAL PRICE TO US SEEMS TO BE INCREASING.)

-- FAIR TREATMENT OF ALL US CITIZENS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN ETHIOPIA, THE MAJORITY OF WHOM ARE MISSIONARIES.

-- EARLY AND ADEQUATE COMPENSATION OF NATIONALIZED FIRMS.

-- INCREASING US NON-MILITARY TRADE WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS.

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SIS ON US EXPORTS, PARTICULARLY TRUCKS AND OTHER HEAVY VEHICLES, AGRICULTURAL EQUIPMENT, ROAD BUILDING/CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT, AIRLINE SUPPORT, WHEAT AND OTHER FOODSTUFFS.

-- FAIR AND CONSTRUCTION TREATMENT OF AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN AND BUSINESSES. (HERE AGAIN IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT THERE ARE NO AMERICAN BUSINESSMEN PRESENTLY OPERATING IN ETHIOPIA NOR ARE THERE LIKELY TO BE VERY SOON GIVEN THE UNFAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THIS SOCIALIZED STATE. IN THE CASE OF THE FEW AMERICAN ENTERPRISES REPRESENTED IN ETHIOPIA BY LOCAL OR THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS, WE KNOW OF NO RECENT INSTANCES OF UNFAIR TREATMENT OTHER THAN ON THE NATIONALIZATION ISSUE WHICH IS DEALT WITH IN THE EARLIER OBJECTIVE. AS A RESULT, EMBASSY BELIEVES THIS OBJECTIVE COULD JUST AS WELL BE DELETED AS AN INSIGNIFICANT FACTOR IN EXISTING BILATERAL RELATIONS.)

-- BETTER RELATIONSHIPS WITH YOUNGER EDUCATED ETHIOPIANS WORKING IN POTENTIALLY MODERNIZING INSTITUTIONS, IN PART BY EXPLOITING OUR CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS TO THIS END. (ON THE BASIS OF EMBASSY'S RECENT EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH EPMG ON CULTURAL EXCHANGE MATTERS, THERE IS LITTLE OR NO PROSPECT OF EXPANDING EXCHANGE PROGRAM ACTIVITIES AND WE SHALL BE FORTUNATE TO HOLD OUR OWN AT PRESENT LEVEL. GOAL ITSELF IS A WORTHY ONE AND NOT TOTALLY UNREALISTIC DESPITE ETHIOPIAN POLICY OF DISCOURAGING YOUNGER EDUCATED ETHIOPIANS FROM ASSOCIATING WITH OFFICIAL AMERICANS.)

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-- EPMG SUPPORT OR AT LEAST ACQUIESCENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US.

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6805

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 0084

II. PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF ETHIOPIA'S EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CONFLICTS AND STABILITY IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

-- TERMINATION OF HOSTILITIES IN THE OGADEN CONFLICT BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA THROUGH OAU, UN, OR OTHER GOOD OFFICES.

-- NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE TERRITORIAL AND ETHNIC DISPUTE BETWEEN ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA.

-- RESPECT FOR AND ADHERENCE TO OAU PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BY ETHIOPIA AND OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE HORN, AS WELL AS UNDERSTANDING OF US SUPPORT FOR OAU PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

-- REMOVAL OR REDUCTION OF ETHIO-ERITREAN CONFLICT AS SOURCE OF POLITICO-MILITARY ISSUE OF MIDDLE EASTERN SCOPE. (EMBASSY HAD DIFFICULTY WITH ORIGINAL VERSION OF THIS OBJECTIVE BECAUSE IT IS NO LONGER CLEAR TO US IN WHICH DIRECTION US INTERESTS LIE WITH REGARD TO ERITREA. FOR EXAMPLE, IF ASMARA WERE TO

FALL TO SECESSIONISTS AND PROVISIONAL INDEPENDENT
ERITREAN GOVERNMENT WERE DECLARED, WOULD WE BE PRE-
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PARED TO RECOGNIZE IT AFTER SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES
AND POSSIBLY ARAB LEAGUE HAD DONE SO, AS A MEANS OF
FULFILLING ANOTHER STRATEGIC OBJECTIVE OF DENYING
SOVIETS A NAVAL BASE ON RED SEA? THIS IS NOT TO
SUGGEST THAT US SHOULD ACTIVELY BEGIN TO PROMOTE
INDEPENDENT ERITREA BUT, IF IT WERE TO MATERIALIZE
IN COMING MONTHS, WOULD WE NOT WANT TO MOVE QUICKLY
TO ESTABLISH A SUFFICIENT WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH
NEW GOVERNMENT TO ENABLE US TO TAKE NEW INITIATIVES
IN OUR OVERALL POLICY APPROACH TO HORN?)

-- ETHIOPIAN/SUDANESE RAPPROACHMENT.

-- ETHIOPIAN RECOGNITION THAT THE PRESENT INDEPENDENCE
AND SOVEREIGNTY OF THE REPUBLIC OF DJIBOUTI CONTRI-
BUTE TO THE STABILITY OF THE HORN OF AFRICA. (IN
THE PRESENT ATMOSPHERE OF WAR AND MUTUAL DISTRUST
BETWEEN DJIBOUTI'S NEIGHBORS, EMBASSY AGREES THAT
UPHOLDING DJIBOUTI'S INDEPENDENCE CONTRIBUTES TO
HORN STABILITY IN THE SHORT RUN. IN THE LONG RUN,
HOWEVER, GIVEN MINIMAL ECONOMIC BASE ON WHICH
DJIBOUTI MUST OPERATE AND ULTIMATE INEVITABILITY
OF FRENCH WITHDRAWAL, EMBASSY QUESTIONS WHETHER
DJIBOUTI HAS A CHANCE OF REMAINING INDEPENDENT,
AND THEREFORE WHETHER WE WOULD BE CONTRIBUTING TO
STABILITY OF HORN BY TRYING TO MAINTAIN ITS
SOVEREIGNTY.)

III. PROMOTION OF US STRATEGIC INTERESTS IN THE HORN

-- PREVENTION OR AT LEAST REDUCTION OF SOVIET/CUBAN
DOMINATION OF ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

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-- SIGNIFICANT REDUCTION OF SOVIET/CUBAN MILITARY PRE-
SENCE IN ETHIOPIA AND DENIAL OF ETHIOPIANS TERRI-
TORY FOR SOVIET AND CUBAN NAVAL AND/OR MILITARY
BASES.

-- ETHIOPIAN DISENCHANTMENT WITH ITS VIRTUALLY EXLU-
SIVE RELIANCE ON SOVIET/CUBAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE.

(SINCE MILITARY ASSISTANCE POLICY HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL DETRIMENT BOTH IN THE CLOSE US/ETHIOPIAN RELATIONSHIP OF THE PAST AND PRESUMABLY IN ETHIOPIA'S CURRENT LOVE AFFAIR WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MARXIST/LENINIST REVOLUTIONARY STATES, IT IS UNREALISTIC TO ANTICIPATE THAT THE US WOULD OR COULD MOVE IN QUICKLY TO EXPLOIT ETHIOPIA'S DISENCHANTMENT WITH THE EAST, SO LONG AS THE US MILITARY TOOL IS NOT AVAILABLE. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH TO CAUSE AN INCIPIENT TREND AWAY FROM THE SOVIETS, UNLESS IT BE PROVIDED ON A MASSIVE SCALE. EMBASSY REALIZES USG ABILITY TO UNDERTAKE SUCH A PROGRAM IS UNLIKELY, GIVEN CURRENT PUBLIC US DISAFFECTION WITH THE EXISTING ETHIOPIAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS LIKELY TO HAMPER THE EXECUTIVE'S FREEDOM OF ACTION, AT LEAST IN FY 1980.)

-- INCREASED USE BY MODERATE AFRICAN STATES, PARTICULARLY KENYA, OF THEIR INFLUENCE ON ETHIOPIA.

IV. ENHANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS ENVIRONMENT IN ETHIOPIA

-- GREATER EPMG ADHERENCE TO GENERALLY-ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RIGHTS.

- GREATER ECONOMIC HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ETHIOPIA'S POOR MAJORITY BY OUR AID SUPPORT OF WORTHWHILE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRAMS.

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-- GREATER EPMG AWARENESS OF THE IMPLICATIONS FOR ITS OWN INTERESTS OF ADHERING TO GENERALLY ACCEPTED INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS NORMS.

-- GREATER AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN ETHIOPIA AND MORE FORCEFUL ACTION FROM THOSE COUNTRIES IN THIS REGARD.
MATHERON

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